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The Freedom Commission Act

The Western Predicament

SPEECH
OF

HON. A. S. HERLONG, JR.
OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 2, 1959

Mr. HERLONG. Mr. Speaker, the cold war is going badly for our side. Nation after nation in the Near East and the Far East is slipping from pro-Western to neutral, to pro-Communist neutral, and this same pattern is now taking shape in Africa. Even in Western Europe, where many thought the tide had turned, we see some nations like Greece beginning to slip back. In Latin America the Communist Party is gaining rapidly in size and influence in key nations like Venezuela and Argentina.

This is happening despite Hungary and Khrushchev's confessions about Stalin and despite our generous aid programs.

The Communists are winning because they have developed a new form of power struggle, a new dimension of political warfare, which makes it possible for them to get to the people in each target nation and to control or manipulate them in ever increasing numbers in the interest of the Soviets. As long as the Communists can do this and we cannot counteract it, our own diplomacy and aid programs will be largely undercut, while those of the Soviet Union and Red China will achieve success all out of proportion for the money spent.

This new dimension of political warfare is being fought by the Communists in labor unions, universities, cultural groups, newspapers, villages, and in every type of economic, racial or religious grouping.

In this war, the Communists have three advantages which give them a decided edge over their opponents:

First, the Communists have trained the most skilled, dedicated and cohesive leadership groups and cadres the world has known. They simply fight harder and with more know-how than their opponents. The intensity with which the Communists train their cadres is still imperfectly understood.

Second, the Communists have devel-

oped their conspiratorial version of political warfare into an operational science. They have become masters of the art of conflict management.

Third, they have a superior organization which is skillfully deployed throughout the fabric of each nation to obtain maximum power and influence for the numbers involved. This organization, manned by trained political activists, permits the Communists to take full advantage of the infinite variety of organizational possibilities inherent in a total political war, whether setting up a front to organize and manipulate a previously unorganized sector of a given society, infiltrating an existing institution, or recruiting student leaders for a guided tour of the "New China." It is significant that an advanced textbook on Bolshevik strategy and tactics is called "The Organizational Weapon"—Selznick, McGraw-Hill, 1952.

We continue to take a licking because we have failed to develop these three indispensable keys to a total political war.

Instead, we have relied on the conventional means of diplomacy, military and economic aid and intelligence. These conventional means, regardless of the skill with which they are employed, fail to engage the Communists on much of the battleground. There has been a stubborn almost suicidal refusal on our part to face up to what a total political war means in terms of cadres, organization and operational know-how, if the Communists are to be fought organization for organization, argument for argument and person to person within the free world.

We had hoped that the newly independent nations in the Near and Far East and Africa would somehow develop their own vigorous anti-Communist leadership groups if we would only bolster their economies and contain the Red army. With some exceptions, this has not happened and today there is a desperate need in these areas for native leaders who can fight the Communists in all segments of their societies with an equal degree of devotion and operational-organizational know-how. This means university professors, labor leaders, business men, student leaders, writers, and professional people as well as government leaders.

Moreover, the need is just as great within the United States. In all levels of

our society, there is a glaring lack of understanding of the total nature of the Soviet political warfare offensive and what it has accomplished and what lies ahead. But most important, people from the community level up lack leadership which can show them how they can make their weight felt in the cold war. By and large our great civic organizations are uncommitted. Their members continue to think little league baseball while the free world comes unstuck under the relentless pressure of the Communist organizational weapon. With trained leadership showing the way many of our people could join in this struggle. Without such leadership tremendous energies are wasted and opportunities missed as we leave everything to Uncle Sam.

Within the Federal Government there are few who are well grounded in communism, political warfare and the interrelated economic-military fields. Each Federal agency or department dealing with the cold war produces within itself a multitude of competing plans and ideas. Some are based on a realistic estimate of the political warfare situation and some are not. Ultimately the agency head must pick and choose between these plans. If he lacks extended experience or training in communism, political warfare and the interrelated economic-military fields, and many have since the end of World War II, he may be more likely to pick the plan which corresponds with his level of understanding. Thus expert knowledge, even where it exists at the "desk level," is often frustrated.

Only a small percentage of the thousands of Federal employees who serve overseas have substantial knowledge of communism and political warfare, or special knowledge or even interest in the foreign areas where they serve. If these people learned the language, were articulate about the United States, and knowledgeable about the cold war, they could cultivate newspaper people, labor leaders, and rank and file citizens and do a great deal to combat Communist influence. Instead, most stay within their own narrow circle of American friends and are political warfare neutrals or outright liabilities. The same applies to many private citizens working overseas.

Today, the Soviet political warfare offensive is hitting its stride as years of

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patient cadre training and organizing begin to pay off. Most alarming, the Soviets are now in position to add a huge economic, scientific-technical assistance program and cultural program to their existing organizational weapon. Already Soviet aid to certain countries exceeds our own, and Russian and Chinese cultural groups touring the Near and Far East are so numerous and diversified they amount to a cultural cold war. The Soviet Union is turning out scientists, engineers and technicians at a rate beyond their internal needs. Recent visitors report these people are receiving language training in many languages and dialects. The newly independent nations, eager for quick industrial expansion, are turning increasingly to Russia, which has become a symbol of what a backward country can do using Communist methods. All of this opens fascinating possibilities to Soviet planners who can now give their existing organizational weapon a tremendous added punch. It creates the gravest sort of problems for the West.

The western predicament is that we have been unable to develop effective countermeasures to the Communist organizational weapon. We know the conventional means alone will not do the job. Unless we come up with the answer, we face the day when the United States and a handful of shaky allies will be substantially isolated in a world that has become Communist or pro-Communist neutral.

To fight the Communist organizational weapon, we need trained, dedicated people who understand Communist strategy and tactics and the realities of a total power struggle, and we need these people deployed throughout each free world nation where they can organize strength against Communist imperialism and lay the groundwork for a broad-based coalition of freemen. The West must develop a new synthesis of the operational art to make this possible.

Today the whole area of countermeasures or counteraction, outside the conventional fields, is relatively unexplored. Counteraction can and should be raised to the level of an operational science, and its practitioners should be trained with the care and thoroughness of a surgeon. It can and should offer fascinating opportunities at the community, State, and National levels.

Believing so completely that this should be done, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Judd] and I have today introduced legislation that we believe will accomplish this objective.

Before going on to specific proposals of the legislation, certain points should be clarified.

First of all, since the Communist organizational weapon is working within a multitude of political, religious, economic and racial groups, counteraction must be carried out by leaders of these same groups. This means that counteraction will be led by people whose views and backgrounds are widely divergent and who are united chiefly by their desire to stem the Communist tide. Counteraction then means a broad coalition in which coordinated action would

be achieved by focusing on the supreme danger of Communist domination and by giving that business its due priority. The strength and virtue of free men rest on the integrity of their convictions. To achieve unity of action we must never belittle differences existing between convictions, but rather search for common purposes on which men and groups can agree without betraying or minimizing their individual differences.

Second, there is no desire or need to emulate Communist conspiratorial techniques in carrying out the proposal set out in our bill. The method and techniques proposed can and should be in full accord with democratic ethics and morality.

Third, this legislation seeks to fill a vacuum. It does not encroach upon any existing department or agency of the Federal Government. Hereafter, when the expression "counteraction" is used, it is intended to mean primarily counteraction outside of the conventional means already employed by the Government, and especially counteraction that may be conducted by private citizens and organizations.

Fourth, the Communists have built up so much lead time in political warfare we must proceed on a crash program basis.

THE FREEDOM COMMISSION ACT

Under the legislation an independent commission tentatively called the Freedom Commission would be established and given the responsibility and powers to develop counteraction, to train selected persons in counteraction, and to act as an information center serving all persons working against the Communist conspiracy.

In order to do this, the Commission would establish an advanced training center tentatively called the Freedom Academy. The best available experts in all relevant fields of knowledge would be brought together at the Academy where they could devote their full time to (a) developing counteraction into a science, and (b) training and turning out highly skilled, dedicated men and women, selected from throughout the free world to organize and lead counteraction.

The Comission: The Commission would be composed of seven members, one of whom would be chairman. The members would be appointed by the President with the advice and approval of the Senate and would serve for staggered terms of 6 years, except the chairman who would serve at the pleasure of the President. The Commission would have broad powers to achieve its purpose and could employ such advisers and establish such committees as it needs from time to time to operate the Academy, select the faculty, prepare a curriculum, select a student body, and so forth.

The Commissioners should be broadly representative, dedicated in their desire to fight communism and bipartisan in their approach. Above all the Commissioners must themselves demonstrate that a broad-based coalition of free men can recognize the primacy of the Communist threat and undertake sustained action of a high order without unseem-

ingly bickering over individual political differences.

Joint congressional committee: The vital nature of the Commission's work, the need to proceed on a crash basis into a relatively unexplored field loaded with delicate policy questions, the necessarily generalized statutory authority—much of the area of the program being still unexplored—and above all the need for public confidence, requires that Congress as well as the executive branch be fully and currently informed of the Commission's activities and problems. The proposed legislation, therefore, provides for a joint congressional watchdog committee with a permanent staff empowered to investigate, advise, and report. This committee would be analogous to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and like it, dedicated to the promotion of the public and legislative will in a sensitive agency imperative to our country's international survival.

Academy students: The student body would be selected from throughout the free world and would be representative of the diverse groups within which the cold war is being fought. They must be men and women of character and intelligence ready to dedicate more than their spare evenings to the cause of freedom. On graduation they would return to their own communities and institutions where, using their special skills and techniques developed at the Academy, they would be leaders in counteraction.

ACADEMY CURRICULUM

(a) **The common fund of knowledge:** Anti-Communists of widely divergent political beliefs can cooperate on a surprisingly broad front if they possess a common understanding of communism and the realities of the total power struggle. Without this common fund of knowledge, a coalition is exasperatingly difficult whether among private citizens or free world governments. Therefore, the first function of the curriculum is to build this fund so that Academy graduates can talk shop and plan together on the basis of the mutual respect and confidence which flows from their common understanding. As part of this fund, the students will acquire a thorough understanding of the Communist conspiracy, including the history and development of Communist theory and doctrine; knowledge of Soviet Russia, Red China, and the satellite countries; the organization, strategy, and tactics of the Communist Party; and the heritage and the prospects of the free world. In order to provide perspective, related subjects will include an analysis of the world military situation, the political and economic situation in the principal nations, and other problems of international affairs as they relate to the Communist conspiracy. Also included—for foreign students at least—will be American history with special emphasis on American foreign and military policy after World War II, since it is of first importance that the leader of the free world be understood and trusted.

(b) **Organizing skills:** Academy students will be trained in the technique and procedures they should use in com-

bating Communist influence and the Communist organizational weapon. This includes a study of organizing methods and operational techniques suitable for different classes, groups, and environments, keeping in mind these methods should be in accord with the ethics and morality of free men. Because Communists try to divide non-Communists in order to decrease their effectiveness as an opposition force, students will also be taught the techniques of meditation and coalition necessary to get non- and anti-Communists working together.

(c) Schools and teaching skills: The academy is only one school serving a world community and can train no more than a small fraction of the needed leaders. The success of counteraction will depend above all on the ability of graduates to recruit and train large numbers of activists. This means a series of training schools or training programs at community, regional or national level. The graduates should have concrete ideas on how to set up and finance these schools under varying conditions, and they, like the academy faculty, must give inspired instructions. This means the curriculum must stress teaching and speaking skills and a great deal of thought will have to be given to matters such as textbooks, teaching aids including films, minimum libraries, and so forth, to be used by the graduates in their own training programs.

(d) Special skills: Each student may acquire special knowledge and skills in his particular field. For instance, peasants make up a great majority of the population in most unopened areas. No group suffers more under communism and the peasantry represents a huge potential source of anti-

ter level as well as on ideological issues. Selected foreign students might be trained in these trade union subjects at AFL-CIO schools.

Some of the most promising potential leaders of counteraction may be hesitant at first to attend a school that deals primarily with political subjects. However, many can be induced to come, if they are promised additional training in their profession or business by way of on-the-job training in industry or business or additional study at a university of their choice either before or after completing their Academy program. The Commission should give careful study to subsidized training outside the Academy, particularly in the technical and administrative skills and knowledge so badly needed in the underdeveloped areas. We could perform no greater service to the free world and the underdeveloped countries than to train a leader in these critically needed technical or administrative skills while also turning him into a knowledgeable leader of counteraction. Our great failing with foreign students in the past is that we have made no effort to develop them into articulate anti-Communists or to make them feel that the free world is counting on them and backing them. They have returned home as individuals without a sense of mission and have often been recruited into the Communist party which has appeared to them to be the only group that had a dynamic program and knew where it was going and how to get there. Academy graduates in this country can play an important part in setting up these on-the-job training pro-

military experts, political scientists, linguists, and experts on the area and groups within which the graduates will work. Never before has such a group been brought together within a single institution where they could devote their full energies to developing and teaching counteraction. Half formed ideas, discarded as unworkable without trained leadership and organization, could grow into bold dynamic programs under the stimulus of shop talk among these diversified experts and the realization that here at last is the organization that can put these ideas across. In the beginning the faculty will have to teach each other as well as the student body. The instructions must be of a high order, for the students must be instilled with esprit de corps and a sense of mission.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS AND EXPECTED RESULTS

Academy graduates will have no strings attached when they return to their native lands or home communities, but as highly trained anti-Communists with a sense of mission and thorough understanding of what has to be done to fight the Communist organizational weapon, it is expected that the graduates from each country will cooperate closely in organizing counteraction, and in fact should be a working nucleus before leaving the Academy. They will be trained to furnish the three indispensable keys to counteraction: skilled leadership, organization and operational know-how. Being representative of the diverse groups and classes of their native land, they will have immediate access to those they will seek to organ-

The principal task of graduates in the United States will be to develop a sense of urgency in our people and a willing-

The idea of private citizens participating in the cold war on a large scale requires a few brief illustrations.

The Soviets can commit the most brutal crimes against humanity and suffer only minor, short-term propaganda reverses. Yet, if we so much as stub our toe, the roof falls in. Following the crushing of the Hungarian revolution, a number of intellectual, student, and worker leaders were imprisoned and the arrests are still continuing. With callous brutality the Soviets from time to time announce the execution of certain of these captives. Those familiar with sadistic AVO techniques can imagine the fate of the others. These freedom fighters are the most heroic, selfless allies freedom has ever had. There is reason to believe the Soviets might release many, if we made them pay a high enough price for their continued imprisonment and torture. Yet there has been no concerted effort along these lines to our everlasting shame. Every execution should be an occasion for cold fury among our citizens and free people everywhere. The continued retention of these free-world martyrs should result in massive demonstrations and pressures of every type against the Soviets. Academy graduates and their trainees working in civic organizations, labor unions, churches, and universities, could organize this protest not only in the United States but throughout the free world.

Russia and Red China are flooding India and other Asian nations with books and magazines promoting the Communist line. Sold at less than cost and tailored to every group and nationality—even including illustrated nursery books showing the friendly Russian bear saving little Red Ridinghood from the United States wolf—these books are making a considerable impression. Sometimes this is about the only reading material available to book hungry intellectuals. The Communist organizational weapon works overtime distributing this material, obtaining favorable reviews for Soviet books, plastering billboards with ads and pressuring bookshops and newsstands into favored displays.

Our great civic organizations through the leadership and prodding of academy graduates can directly involve themselves in a meaningful way in this crucial battle for Asian minds and loyalties. For example, hundred volume sets of the

western classics interspersed with such notable anti-Communist books as "The New Class," "Darkness at Noon," "The Bridge at Andau," "A Century of Conflict," or "Dr. Zhivago" could be obtained in paperback editions for as little as \$15 or \$20 per set. Our civic organizations could raise the money for printing and shipping thousands of sets to eastern nations where local academy graduates would insure proper distribution.

A trained leader of counteraction can be expected to take the long view of developing situations and to initiate the sustained corrective action now that will decisively influence events many years in the future. With the Soviets going all out to train scientists and engineers to insure their space supremacy and the development of a superior weapons technology, we must respond or concede world dominion to our enemies. The educational challenge of this across-the-board power struggle is perhaps the most important of all. Academy graduates trained to face the unpleasant realities will know what our educational system must produce to insure survival, and can be effective counterweights to those urging a softer education in our secondary schools and universities. Again, acting within a multitude of civic organizations, they can focus the attention and energies of these groups on this vital educational challenge and away from the business or pleasure as usual activities which often dominate present civic thinking. This is anti-communism or counteraction at its best.

Counteraction has drifted so long without trained leaders or adequate organizational forms, it is difficult for some to grasp the very great potential which will gradually come into being as successive classes are graduated from the academy. Slowly at first but surely a broad-based coalition of freemen ranging from anti-Communist Socialists to conservatives will emerge in many key parts of the free world. Led by dedicated, knowledgeable native leaders using new and imaginative techniques they will in time turn the organizational weapon against the Communists.

Today anti-Communist morale throughout the free world is at rock bottom. The Commission and the academy will be shot in the arm. They will become a symbol that at long last Uncle Sam is going to fight the cold war with both hands.

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CONCLUSION

At this time, no one can be definitive or dogmatic as to precise details of the academy program. We are dealing with a new area where we of the free world have just begun to explore the outer fringes. We are seeking to develop an awareness of the problems facing the free world in meeting the Communists on a broad front, where they have been operating virtually unchallenged for half a century. It will not be easy to overcome so great a timelag, but as freemen we can never admit that it cannot be overcome.

We must not continue to stand by in hopeless confusion, in awe of a monster which in 50 years has devoured half the world. It is still not too late to meet the challenge. But time is running out faster than we dare think.

We can no longer afford the luxury of attempting at our leisure to perfect our program. We must proceed at once to gather what experts we can to set into immediate operation the two great phases of this legislation, development of counteraction, and intensive training. Our available experts must work as an emergency team, teaching each other their skills and knowledge so that each may become as quickly as possible the type of expert necessary to work out the many complexities of the program. All efforts must be made to set this phase of the legislation into operation as soon as possible. The training program will aid in the development of the science of counteraction. The development of counteraction will aid the training program. Neither phase can wait for the perfection of the other.

We are not dealing with a static situation, but with a constantly growing and changing problem. The program must be kept flexible, constantly expanding, constantly changing to meet new challenges in the world situation.

We cannot expect perfection in our program. We can expect the maximum effort by all concerned. This program promises no miracles, no easy and secure path to freedom. It offers a lifetime of sacrifice and toil to many who embrace it; for many, great danger, and for some, death.

For communism, with the lead time of half a century, it is already high noon. For us, it is the choice between continued darkness or early dawn. Let us choose the dawn and choose it now. The choice may not be ours again.

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MEMORANDUM FOR: THE DIRECTOR

Attached are the "Freedom Commission" bills which you requested. Congressman Judd's bill, H. R. 3881, is presently unavailable, however, all are identical bills. Also attached are a sectional analysis, comments on this legislation and a one page summary of the bills.

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[REDACTED]
Legislative Counsel

—26 March 1959
(DATE)

FORM NO. 101 REPLACES FORM 10-101
1 AUG 54 WHICH MAY BE USED.

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